DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 213 566 RC 013 244

AUTHOR Hart, E. Richards; And Others
TITLE The Zunis: Experiences and Descriptions.
INSTITUTION Pueblo of Zuni, N. Mex.; Utah Univ., Salt Lake City. American West Center.
SPONS AGENCY Bureau of Indian Affairs (Dept. of Interior), Santa Fe, N. Mex. Research and Cultural Studies Development Section.
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 27p.; Photographs on pages 12 and 13 may not reproduce well.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS American Indian Culture; *American Indians; *Cultural Background; Cultural Interrelationships; Culture Conflict; Economics; Food; Government (Administrative Body); *Land Settlement; Leaders; *Social History; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS *American Indian History; *Zuni (Pueblo)

ABSTRACT

Designed to use in schools, the booklet provides brief information on Zuni prehistory and a chronology of events occurring between 1539 and 1973 (e.g., Francisco Vasquez Coronado's occupation of one of the six Zuni villages in 1540, Juan de Onate's visit to Hawikuh in 1598, the establishment of the first Catholic mission at Halona:wa, the war between the Zunis and the Hopis, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the beginning of the jewelry and blacksmithing trades by the Zuni, the opening of the first Bureau of Indian Affairs day school). Brief information is provided on the coming of the Spanish; the 1680 Pueblo Revolt to overthrow the Spanish and gain back control of the entire New Mexico area; the reconquest by the Spanish in 1692; the first Anglo Americans at Zuni; traders, anthropologists, rustlers and trespassers, and missionaries at Zuni; the Zuni trip to the East Coast; the Logan Case, an attempt by a group of white men, including Senator John A. Logan, to acquire Zuni land around Nutria Springs; the economy and technological advancements from 1900 to 1973; and the Zunis' system of government. Foods used by the Zunis in ancient times are listed. (NQA)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED213566

MAY 1981
ERIC/CRESS
RECEIVED

THE ZUNIS:

EXPERIENCES AND DESCRIPTIONS

RC013244

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Robert E. Lewis

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Produced by

THE PUEBLO OF ZUNI

FOREWORD

This work has been prepared under the direction of the Zuni Tribal Council: Robert E. Lewis, Governor, Theodore Edaakie, Lieutenant Governor, Harold Tucson, Head Councilman, Virgil Wyaco, Chester Gaspar, Nicholas Yuselew, Bossie Quam, and Dennis Nash, councilmen.

This small book is designed for use in schools, and for those who would like to know a little of the history of Zuni.

The work was done under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs — Research and Cultural Studies Development Section, Dave Warren, Director. The American West Center of the University of Utah did the research and part of the writing. Editorial work was done both at Zuni and at the university. At the American West Center, the narrative was written by E. Richard Hart. Contributions were made by Dr. C. Gregory Crampton, Paul H. Norum, Dr. S. Lyman Tyler and Sheila Bell.

At Zuni, several persons helped with the editing, Mrs. Virginia Lewis, Wilfred Eriacho, and others. To all who helped, the editors extend their thanks. For errors and imperfections, the editors are responsible.

Floyd A. O'Neil
Gregory C. Thompson

ZUNI PREHISTORY

Man came to the Americas as early as 40,000 years ago. Some of the earliest traces of man's culture in North America are found in the southwestern United States where a desert people left their marks between 11,000 and 12,000 years ago.

Out of this desert culture emerged the tradition of a people known as the Anasazi. These people occupied the area of Zuni more than 1,500 years ago. From the roots of the Anasazi came several more highly developed cultures. One of these groups of people built the huge buildings in the Chaco Canyon area, such as Pueblo Bonito, which is known as having been the largest apartment house in the world when it was built and remained so until steel was used in building in 1890.

These Chacoans abandoned their cities because of drought or raiding tribes between seven hundred and nine hundred years ago. Many of them then migrated into the area of Zuni. Trade existed between these Anasazi in the Zuni area and another group of people, the Hohokam, to the west.

Another tradition of people, farther to the south, around the headwaters of the Gila River in New Mexico was the Mogollon. About seven hundred years ago the Cibola-Salado branch of the Mogollon moved into the area of Zuni. Perhaps they drove the Anasazi out or maybe they married and became one group. Probably they joined together.

Growing out of all these people and their early traditions were the historic Zunis. In the late 1300's twelve villages in the Zuni area were abandoned. The people from those villages built new towns and were the ancestors of the historic Zunis. One place which they settled was Heshoda Łupt'sinna.

It is likely that the Zunis were not an off-shoot of the ancient cultures, but rather an outgrowth, with a language unlike any other and a culture which became stronger when attacked or faced with hardship. Their way of life came out of hundreds and hundreds of years of learning how to live best in the arid Southwest.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZUNI PUEBLO'S HISTORY

1539—Fray Marcos came to one of the Zuni villages, but when his black companion Estevan was killed by the people he turned back towards Mexico.

1540—After a brief battle Francisco Vasquez Coronado occupied Hawikku, one of the six Zuni villages. Twenty Zuni men were killed in the fighting. Following the battle the Zunis took refuge on Dowa Yalanne for the first recorded time in history.

1542—Coronado again passed through Zuni leaving two men there, who taught the Zunis many things in the following years.

Sheep and cattle were introduced into the Pueblo during these years.

1581—Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado visited the six villages.

1583—Antonio de Espejo visited the Pueblo of Zuni and found the men left there by Coronado forty-one years before.

1598—The first Spanish governor of New Mexico, Juan de Oñate, visited Hawikuh.

1604—Oñate again passed through Hawikuh.

1629—The first Catholic mission was established at Halona:wa.

1632—Early in the year the Zunis killed a friar at Hawikuh and then another friar and his two soldier guards in the area. After the killings, the six Zuni villages took refuge on Dowa Yalanne.

1635—The Zunis began to leave their mesa stronghold and move back to their villages.

1672—Apaches, now using the horses they got from the Spanish, attacked Hawikuh, killed the missionary and burned the mission. Hawikuh was permanently abandoned at about this time.

1680—The Pueblo Revolt. The Zuni killed one friar at Halona:wa, burned the Mission and retreated to Dowa Yalanne. There is an oral tradition along with some evidence that one friar was saved by the Zunis and lived on with the people.

1689—This is the date of the Zunis' Spanish Land Grant (the grant is now known to be false).

1692—The Zunis allowed Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon to climb up to the summit of Dowa Yalanne, where the Zunis had remained for twelve years. Vargas and the Zunis arranged peace terms.

1700—By about this date all of the original "Seven Cities of Cibola" but the village of Halona:wa had been abandoned because of the raiding Apaches and Navajos.

1703—Three Spanish were killed by the Zunis and the Pueblo again took refuge on Dowa Yalanne.

1706–1710—The Zunis warred against the Hopis.

1776—Escalante passed through Zuni land and mapped the abandoned Hawikku.

1821—The Franciscans withdrew from Zuni in fear of Navajo and Apache raids. From this date until 1921 there was no Catholic mission at Zuni.

1830–1840—The Zunis began to practice the trades of jewelry and blacksmithing and carried out much trade in such items with other tribes in the area.

1848—The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

1849—James C. Calhoun, the first U.S. Indian Agent to the Pueblos, visited Zuni and observed the body of a Navajo just outside the pueblo, evidence of the fighting in a recent raid.

1850—The Simpson expedition passed through Zuni.

1851—The Sitgreaves expedition visited Zuni.

1859—Beale's expedition passed through Zuni.

1865—This is the approximate date of the last Navajo raid on Zuni.

1872—The Zunis began using silver in jewelry. Before this time they had used mostly copper and tin.

1873—The Wheeler expedition went through Zuni.

1873—The first United States school teacher was hired for Zuni.

1876—Mormon missionaries visited Zuni.

1877—A Presbyterian mission and school was opened at Zuni.

1878—Zuni was hit with an epidemic of smallpox. They were infected by the early Anglo visitors.

1879—The Stevenson Expedition reached Zuni. Frank Hamilton Cushing was left at the Pueblo. He would stay for nearly five years as an adopted member of the tribe and some of the religious orders. He wrote the first anthropological work on Zuni and made the Pueblo a very popular place for early anthropologists to gather their material.

1883—Cushing took six Zunis to Washington, D.C., partly to make money so he could stay at the Pueblo, and partly to show the Indians, his friends, what the rest of the United States was like. The six Zunis were Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu (former governor) and his son Ba:lawahdiwa (the present governor of Zuni), and four others. Newspapers all across the country reported about the President of the United States, Chester A. Arthur, meeting the Zuni leaders. They planted prayer sticks, performed certain sacred ceremonies, and brought home seven small bottles of water from the Atlantic Ocean with them to use in ceremonies.

1884—A group of white men including senator John A. Logan attempted to acquire the land around Nutria Springs. Cushing helped the Zunis to prevent this from happening.

1886—This year was the approximate date of the last threat to the Zuni people by raiding Apaches. However, in the following

years there was still a problem with Navajo and Anglo trespassers and rustlers. Shortly after this time Zunis began to reoccupy the outlying farm villages of Pescado, Ojo Caliente, and Nutria. ". . . shortly after this time Zunis began to reoccupy, permanently, the outlying farm villages of Pescado, Ojo Caliente, and Nutria, although they had farmed these lands consistently throughout periods of hostilities.

1889—Several Zunis were killed in a gun battle with Anglo rustlers.

1897—The Christian Reformed Church (formerly the Dutch Reformed Church) founded its mission at Zuni, taking over the Presbyterian school.

1898—The first BIA day school was opened.

1898–1899—A severe smallpox epidemic hit Zuni during the winter. Several hundred people lost their lives.

1904–1907—Black Rock Dam was constructed.

1907—The Black Rock Boarding School was opened.

1910—This was approximately the date of the decline of the many-storied Pueblo.

1910–1911—A measles epidemic hit Zuni and there were between 90 and 175 deaths.

1913—The first automobile was brought on the reservation.

1917—Frederick Webb Hodge began his excavations of Hawikku, employing some Zunis to do the work.

1921—After an absence of 100 years the Franciscans reopened their mission at Zuni.

1925–1945—Jewelry and other crafts grew in importance until they accounted for 65% of the total cash income of the Pueblo in 1945.

1931–1938—Six dams and public water systems were built.

1932—Introduction of Inlay Jewelry at Zuni, by Leo Poblano, Teddie Weahkee and Theodore Edaakie.

1934—The Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) was passed and on November 21, 1934 the Zuni people voted to have popular elections to elect their officials.

1935—By an act of Congress, Zuni land was increased. Black Rock became a sub-agency with the Albuquerque agency governing all the Pueblos.

1941–1945—More than two hundred Zuni men served in the armed forces in World War II. When they returned to the Pueblo they helped to cause a very large change in the Pueblo's economy.

1948—The reservation was increased with the Zuni North Purchase and South Purchase areas.

1950—Electricity was introduced into the Pueblo.

1965—A house to house survey to determine the wants of the Zuni people.

1969—Zuni Comprehensive Development Plan published.

1970—The Zuni tribe assumed control of BIA programs and personnel on the reservation. The members of the Tribal Council at that time were: Governor, Robert E. Lewis; Lieutenant Governor, Casa Appa; Head Councilman, Nathaniel Nasheboo; Bruce Padeskile, Teniente; Theodore Edaakie, Teniente; Celestine Nastacio, Teniente; Chester Gaspar, Teniente, and Bossie Quam, Teniente.

1970—The Zunis adopted a constitution.

1972—Publication of *The Zunis: Self Portrayals.*

1973—Zuni Tribe purchased lease to Zuni Salt Lake.

THE COMING OF THE SPANISH

For hundreds of years life at Zuni had been very much the same. It was a hard and complex life, but it was also a rich and rewarding one. Occasionally Navajos or Apaches would attack Zuni in order to steal corn or women and children, and then the people were forced to defend themselves, but for the most part, time was spent in producing enough food and in the governmental and religious life of the Pueblo.

Then only a few years after the Europeans had first reached the Americas, a man named Cabeza de Vaca appeared in Mexico. He was a Spaniard, who with some companions, became lost and wandered clear across the North American continent. When he reached a Spanish settlement in 1536 he began telling exciting stories of rich cities in the north.

First a friar named Marcos tried to find the cities, which the Spanish called the Seven Cities of Cibola. In 1539 he went out looking with a black slave named Estevan who had been with Cabeza de Vaca. When they reached the area where the Seven Cities were supposed to be, they had actually come to the Zuni villages. The Zunis were not pleased with the attitude of Estevan and killed him, perhaps because they believed he was a spy.

Fray Marcos returned to Mexico and told further wild stories of riches in the north. Because of the stories, finally a big expedition was formed under Francisco Vasquez Coronado and sent to find the seven cities. Coronado reached Hawikku in September of 1540. This is part of what Coronado said:

"As soon as I came within sight of the city . . . I sent the army-master . . . with some horsemen, a little way ahead, so that they might find the Indians and tell them that we were not coming to do them any harm, but to defend them in the name of our lord the Emperor. But they, being a proud people, were little affected, because it seemed to them that we were few in number, and that they would not have any difficulty in conquering us. They pierced the gown of Friar Luis with an arrow, which blessed be God, did him no harm . . . I charged them. There was little to do, because they suddenly took to flight, part running toward the city [Hawikuh] which was near and well fortified, and others toward the plain, wherever chance led them. Some Indians were killed, and others might have been slain if I could have allowed them to be pursued. But I saw that there would be little advantage in this, because the Indians who were outside were few, and those who had retired to the city were numerous, besides many who had remained there in the first place. As that was where the food was, of which we stood in such great need, I assembled my whole force and divided them as seemed to me best for the attack on the city and surrounded it. The hunger which we suffered would not permit any delay, and as I dismounted with some of these gentlemen and soldiers, I ordered the musketeers and crossbowmen to begin the attack and drive back the enemy from the defenses, so that they could not do us any injury. I assaulted the wall on one side where I was told that there was a scaling ladder

and that there was also a gate. But the crossbowmen broke all the strings of their crossbows and the musketeers could do nothing because they had arrived so weak and feeble that they could scarcely stand on their feet. On this account the people who were on top were not prevented at all from defending themselves and doing us whatever injury they were able. Thus, for myself, they knocked me down to the ground twice with countless great stones which they threw down from above, and if I had not been protected by the very good headpiece which I wore, I think that the outcome would have been bad for me. They picked me up from the ground, however, with two small wounds in my face and an arrow in my foot, and with many bruises in my arms and legs, and in this condition I returned from the battle, very weak . . . But by the pleasure of God, these Indians surrendered, and their city was taken with the help of Our Lord, and a sufficient supply of corn was found there to relieve our necessities. . . . They all directed their attack against me because my armor was gilded and glittered, and on this account I was hurt more than the rest, and not because I had done more or was farther in advance than the others; for all these gentlemen and soldiers bore themselves well, as was expected of them. I praise God that I am now well, although somewhat sore from the stones."

About twenty Zunis were killed in this battle, but peace was soon restored. This was the largest battle the Zunis ever had with either the people of Spain, Mexico, or the United States.

THE PUEBLO REVOLT

After Coronado's visits to Zuni in the 1540's, there were several more groups of Spanish travelers who stopped at the pueblo. The more important of these groups were Francisco Sanchez Chauscado in 1581, Antonio de Espejo in 1583 and the first governor of New Mexico Juan de Oñate who visited the villages in 1598 and 1604. But a Catholic mission was not established at the pueblo of Hawikku and Halona:wa until 1629. The walls of the church which these missionaries built at Hawikku are still visible.

There was a great deal of friction between the Zunis and the early missionaries. In 1632 the Zunis killed the Friar at Hawikku and several other Spaniards in the area. They then retreated to the top of Dowa Yalanne where they remained for three years until a treaty was reached.

But the peace was not permanent. By 1680 all of the Pueblos other than Zuni who were under Spanish rule combined in what is known as the Pueblo Revolt to overthrow the Spanish and take back control of the entire New Mexico area for a few years. Because of their isolation Zuni was not directly involved.

The revolt was inspired and led by Popé, a San Juan Indian who was living at Taos. Secretly all the Pueblos except Zuni were informed of the date set for the revolt through a system involving a cord knotted a number of times to represent the number of days until the uprising was planned. The Spanish were caught off guard and were forced to retreat all the way to the El Paso, Texas area, where they crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Zuni Pueblo in 1879. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection.

Ba:lawahdiwa, Governor from 1875 to 1885. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Wayhusiwa, Governor in 1923. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection.

Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu, Governor from 1830 to 1875. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection.

At the time of the revolt the Zunis numbered about 2500 and occupied the villages of Halona:wa, Kyaki:m'a, Mats'a:kya and Hawikku. They killed the missionary at Halona:wa and burned the mission then retreated to their stronghold on top of Dowa Yalanne, which was to remain their central village for at least twelve years.

The Zunis have an oral tradition which states that the priest was saved and lived on at the Pueblo dressed as the Zunis did. If this was true, Zuni was the only Pueblo where a Spaniard was saved. The Zunis did save several objects from the church. They were: three figures of Christ, one oil painting of St. John, one monstrance, two silver chalices, one large gilded silver chalice, one mass book, sixteen other religious books, two brass candlesticks, and three bells.

RECONQUEST

In 1692 Diego de Vargas reached Zuni. The king had sent him to reconquer the Pueblos in the territory of New Mexico.

About this time, perhaps as a result of the Pueblo Revolt, the Apache and Navajo had acquired greater use of the horse. This made the outlying villages much more open to attack because the Zunis were mostly on foot. In 1672 Hawikku was attacked by Apaches. It was abandoned and never resettled. By 1700 all of the villages had moved to Halona:wa.

But the Apache and Navajo raids continued.

THE FIRST ANGLO-AMERICANS AT ZUNI

During the Mexican War the Zuni Indians were said to have supported the side of the United States. United States troops had already made contact with the Zunis and a treaty with the Zunis and Navajos was signed under Colonel Doniphan in 1846. But after the end of the Mexican War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 the contacts became larger and more frequent.

There had been trappers and traders through the area occasionally. Now there were Indian agents, surveying parties, and frequent army expeditions with various purposes. James C. Calhoun was the first Indian Agent to the Pueblos and he visited Zuni in 1849. In his report of the trip he noted that he had seen the body of a Navajo a short distance outside of Zuni, evidence that the treaty hadn't worked.

Several large expeditions passed through Zuni in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Simpson expedition arrived in 1850, Sitgreaves in 1851, Beale in 1859, and Wheeler in 1873. All of these wrote extensive reports, most of which praised the people of Zuni highly. They were said to be generous, hospitable and industrious people.

Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu was the governor of Zuni for most of this period, approximately 1830–1875. While governor he met and made friends with almost all the important figures who passed through the area. He was acquainted with the last Spanish Governor of New Mexico, Armijo, and was always well received by him. He used a Spanish name Pedro Pino, when he signed treaties and papers. He also met most of the early American military officers in New Mexico, including Major Kendrick, Col. Washington, General W. T. Sherman, Major Canby, Major Eaton, and Captain Pfeiffer. He also became acquainted with those Americans involved in the early exploring expeditions, including Ives, Whipple, Beale and Wheeler.

As governor, Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu was equally important to the history of the Pueblo. He was involved in the signing of at least three and possibly four of five treaties in the period from 1846 to 1853. He was in charge of supplying corn to American troops while soldiers were building Ft. Defiance in the early 1850's. He supplied corn for explorers and was appointed U. S. Forage Agent for government travelers who passed that way.

Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu scouted for parties against the Navajos until he was into his eighties and gained recognition leading principal expeditions against them during the Navajo war. He always considered himself a friend to Anglo-Americans and helped to insure peaceful relations with the United States.

When in the early 1870's Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu was again elected Governor of Zuni (elections were said to be every two years at this time) he chose to name his son Ba:lawahdiwa as his successor. Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu continued to influence the tribe as a leader for years to come, however. Ba:lawahdiwa, like his father was a great speaker. Some of his speeches we still have on record. He held office for his people as governor for at least ten years. While Ba:lawahdiwa was governor, in 1877, the President of the United States issued an order forming the Zuni Reservation.

TRADERS AT ZUNI

Even before the coming of the railroad, traders began to extend throughout the area of Zuni. The first licensed trader at Zuni was William Wallace in 1874. He was followed by William Burgess, August Lacome, and Santiago Baca, with there generally being at least two at the Pueblo during the 1870's. In 1879 Douglas D. Graham opened a store south of the Pueblo and was the most important trader for twenty years, with the Zunis calling him Tsibon K'winna (or "Black Beard") in oral tradition. He later was appointed agent to the Pueblo.

Some of the traders were undoubtedly trying to get rich at the expense of the Zunis, but these people were good traders themselves and the traders who were successful in the area had to get along fairly well in order to stay. Tsibon K'winna seems to have had a generally good influence in the Pueblo,

having raised Dumahka or Zuni Nick, in his household and taught him English. Dumahka was governor early in the 20th century.

With the advent of the railroad in 1881 the number of traders increased drastically. There were dozens of traders within the Zuni-Navajo-Gallup area. This helped to explain a large Anglo community in the Pueblo and also influenced the Zuni economy. Naturally it tended to encourage Zunis to do more craft work and less farming, though the Pueblo was more or less self-sufficient for another twenty years. Later traders helped to make the jewelry trade a big business by opening up new markets for the beautiful Zuni crafts.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS

It was relatively early in the United States' colonization of the Southwest that the Zunis came under the influence of the early anthropologists. These men and women from 1879 until well into the 1890's visited Zuni in order to learn and write about the Zuni culture. Starting with Frank Hamilton Cushing, in 1879, John C. Bourke in 1881 and Washington Matthews about the same time, many anthropologists visited the Pueblo. The effect was not all good.

The Stevenson expedition of 1879, of which Cushing was a member, set the pace for what was to come. Members of the party went through the old Catholic Church, which had stood idle for over sixty years, taking the interesting objects in it, including portions of the altar and religious figures. Thousands of Zuni objects were obtained through many methods at this time. But the objects taken were not the important losses. Starting with Cushing, anthropologists also made public many of the ceremonies, rituals, songs, and beliefs which the Zunis had held sacred and secret for hundreds of years.

The Zuni leaders felt that the anthropologists played up some things which were small and played down things which were important. The people believed that the very foundation of their culture was threatened by their activities. Many, like Cushing and Bourke, meant well, but still their main interest was the benefit of the Anglo culture. Some, like Cushing, made contributions to the Pueblo, but also disturbed the community by publishing for the world secret and sacred matters. However, much of the information that was given to these anthropologists was falsified to the extent that it should not be taken as strictly true by readers.

Perhaps it was good that the Zunis were introduced in this way to the dealings of Anglo-Americans. Perhaps through this early contact, the Zunis learned how to better cope with the people they would live next to in the years to come.

Frank Hamilton Cushing, the first ethnologist to actually live at Zuni, has been described variously as a fraud, a genius, the father of anthropology, and an imposter. He was one of the first if not the first anthropologist to

actually join a tribe in order to obtain information about that tribe. As a Bow Priest at Zuni, he took his job seriously, and several times put himself in personal danger by trying to protect the rights and privileges of the Zunis. For instance, he led parties of Zunis in expeditions to recover stolen stock. But the Zunis believe disasters followed the initiation of a white man into the tribe.

THE ZUNI TRIP TO THE EAST COAST IN 1882

With the railroad having been completed as far as Gallup, in 1882 Cushing took six Zunis on a grand tour of the East Coast. There were several reasons for the trip. On the Zuni's part, they wanted water from the oceans for sacred ceremonies and felt that it was not right that groups of all the warring tribes especially their neighbors the Apaches and Navajos, had been treated to trips by the government. As for Cushing, he stated that he wanted to make his relationship with the Zunis closer in order to make further studies easier, to prove that what he had told the Indians was true—he was not a liar about the wonders of Anglo civilization, and to impress upon the minds of the Indians the values of education. He also wanted to get donations of more money so he could continue his operations in the Southwest. He succeeded in getting more money.

The six Zunis who went on the trip were Nai-iu-tchi (Senior Priest of the Bow), Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu, Ba:lawahdiwa (the present governor and Cushing's brother by adoption), Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lun-k'ia (Cushing's father by adoption in the tribe and Priest of the Temple), Ki-a-si (Junior Priest of the Bow), and Nanahe (a Hopi adopted into the Zuni tribe). They departed from Zuni on February 22, 1882, going by way of Chicago, on to Washington, D.C. There they met President Arthur and visited the Washington Monument, where Ba:lawahdiwa said, from the top, that perspective changed, "No longer the powerful Americans, but little men like ants creeping around on the ground below . . ." They journeyed through New England seeing Boston, Harvard University and the Peabody Museum, and stopping at Salem where Nai-iu-tchi made a speech. The Zunis and Cushing performed some ceremonies, the most important being on the banks of the Atlantic Ocean. There they performed a ceremony in which they filled small jars with water from the ocean to take back to Zuni in order to have more rainfall there.

The effect of the trip was great upon the minds of those going. To Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu it was the crowning moment of his life. The Zunis stirred people with their direct observations, and many newspapers praised their attitudes toward life. Ba:lawahdiwa went east again in 1886. Upon their return, with decades of experience, influential friends, and knowledge of the American empire, they began a progressive movement at the Pueblo which was to be important up into the 1930's and would influence the success of the Pueblo's affairs, probably to the present day. Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu

and Ba:lawahdiwa, father and son, were important to the Zuni Pueblo for almost a century.

THE LOGAN CASE

When General John A. Logan made a stop at Fort Wingate in September of 1882, to let his wife recover from a case of rheumatism, he discovered that Nutria Springs was not included in the reservation. By a mistake the reservation lines had not included this important spring which supplied irrigation water for one of the three farming areas of Zuni and water for the pueblo itself. Logan's son-in-law Captain W. F. Tucker, and two other army officers filed claims to the land. They began plans for a ranch, believing they could use all of the Zunis' water by damming the springs for cattle.

Cushing, hearing of the Anglos' plan, recruited the help of a Boston newspaper friend Sylvester Baxter and another journalist William E. Curtis. Baxter informed the public of the attempt to obtain Zuni land in a series of articles published in various newspapers, beginning with one on December 12, 1882, in the *New York Times* and Curtis published a book called *Children of the Sun* in 1883 which dealt extensively with the land-grab attempt.

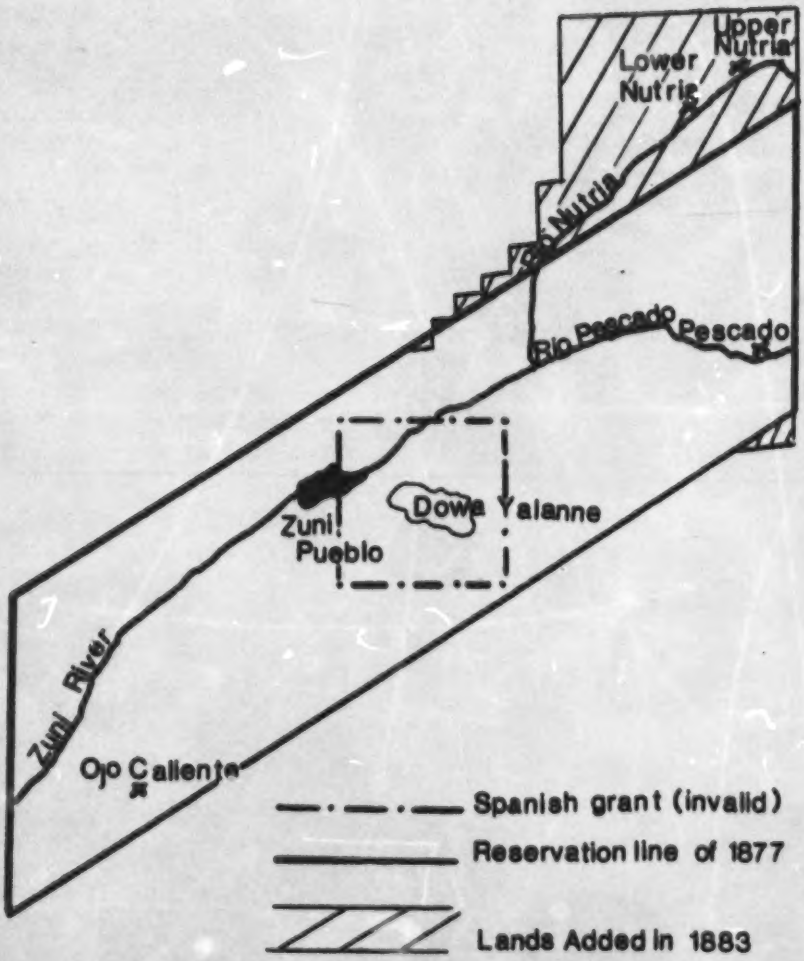
The American public was aroused and upset that Senator Logan, whose name was being mentioned as a possible candidate for the presidency, and his friends should make such an attempt. Eventually the boundaries of the reservation were re-defined to include the spring in Zuni land. But Logan got some revenge by having the Government remove Cushing from the Pueblo.

RUSTLERS AND TRESPASSERS

Throughout the 1880's and 1890's the Zunis were continually bothered by trespassers of one sort or another. Navajos herded their flocks at will across portions of the Zuni Reservation, occasionally killing sheep and stealing horses. Texas cattlemen moved into the area as well, and oftentimes a cattleman might just as easily have been called a rustler. In one incident in 1889, at least three Zunis were shot to death by rustlers who were rounding up Zuni horses. The men were set free by the local courts. There were many instances of rustlers stealing Zuni livestock during this period.

Anglo cattle companies were careless in letting their stock graze on Zuni land. Some cattle companies wanted to get part of the Zunis' land. Mexican-American ranchers and sheepherders also had poor relations with the Zunis during this period.

But as the turn of the century came around the Zunis became more secure in their land holdings, as were other groups. In fact, the grazing and forest land holdings of the Zunis increased.


Upper Nutria
Lower Nutria
Rio Nutria
Rio Pescado
Pescado
Dowa Yalanne
Zuni Pueblo
Zuni River
Ojo Caliente
Spanish grant (invalid)
Reservation line of 1877
Lands Added in 1883

MISSIONARIES AT ZUNI

When the Franciscans left Zuni in 1821, the Indians there were left to their own religious ways for nearly fifty years. The Franciscans would not return until 1921, and then not without some difficulty. But the Mormon and Presbyterian missionaries arrived at Zuni in the 1870's and were followed shortly thereafter by the Dutch Reformed Church (now the Christian Reformed Church).

Ammon Tenney and Robert H. Smith, the first Mormon missionaries, reached Zuni in 1876. Llewelyn Harris, the next Mormon, was at Zuni in 1878. The Presbyterian mission and school were founded by Dr. H. K. Palmer in 1877. He was replaced in 1878 by Reverend Ealy, who in turn was later replaced by the Reverend E. A. Bentley.

Although these early missionaries came to Zuni out of good will, believing that they had something important to offer the Indians, not all of what they brought was good. The Zunis had not developed resistances to European diseases, and in 1878 between one hundred-fifty and two hundred Zunis died of smallpox. Later epidemics, caused by the arrival of other Anglo-Americans, caused the deaths of over four hundred Zunis by smallpox in the winter of 1898–1899 and between ninety and one hundred seventy-five deaths from measles in the winter of 1910–1911.

In 1897 the Presbyterian Mission was transferred into the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Vanderwagen of the Dutch Reformed Church. This mission is still in operation at Zuni today. There is also a Baptist Mission today at Zuni.

Although the Catholics sent occasional missionaries to Zuni around the turn of the century, they had no permanent mission there. The Franciscans wished to reopen the mission. In the early 1900's the Catholics met with Zunis to discuss it. Finally in 1921 the Franciscans reopened their mission, after some quarrelling had developed between "Protestant" or traditional, and "Catholic" Zunis.

1900 TO THE PRESENT: ECONOMY

Up until 1900 the Zunis had been relatively self-sufficient on their piece of land. Men appointed by the religious leaders directed the planting, irrigation, and harvest of corn and wheat. Game was abundant enough. Even in a dry year, though there would be much hardship, the people would survive by working together. But as the white culture began to wash over the Zunis, like huge waves, changing the very contour of the land, the Pueblo began to rely more and more on the outside world for its needs. Much of the

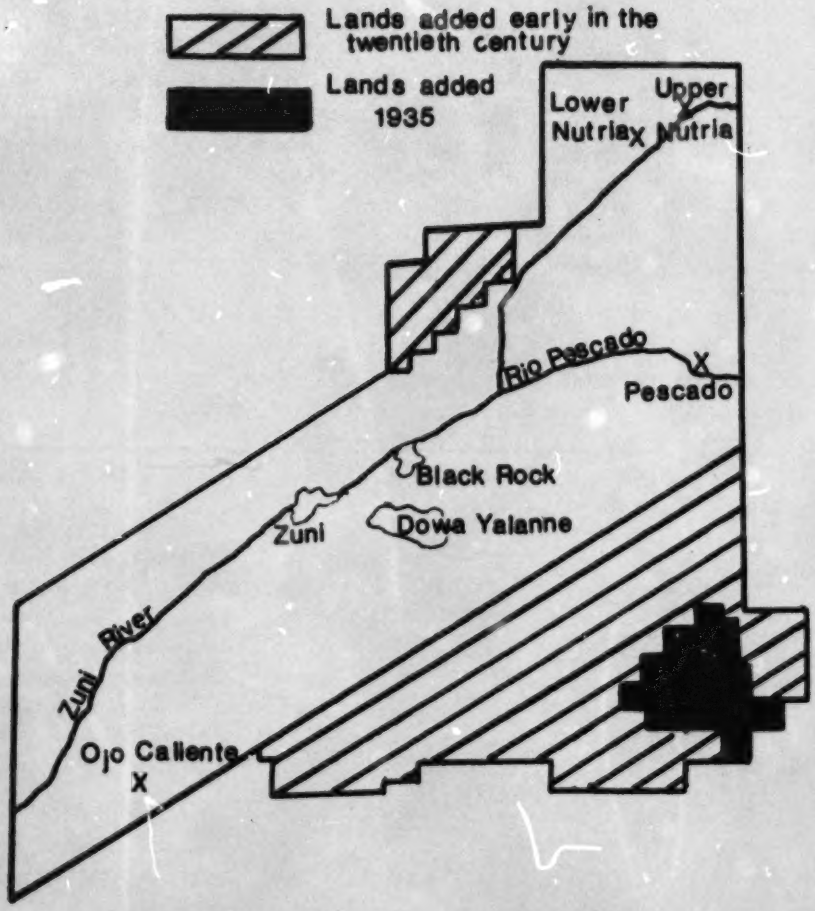
game was killed off early in the century. Moose and deer were killed sometimes not for meat, but to protect the Anglos' crops from being eaten. Deer are sacred to the Zuni people, as all life is. When a hunter killed a deer, he said a prayer and performed a rite to help the spirit of the deer be at peace. Nothing was wasted by these people.

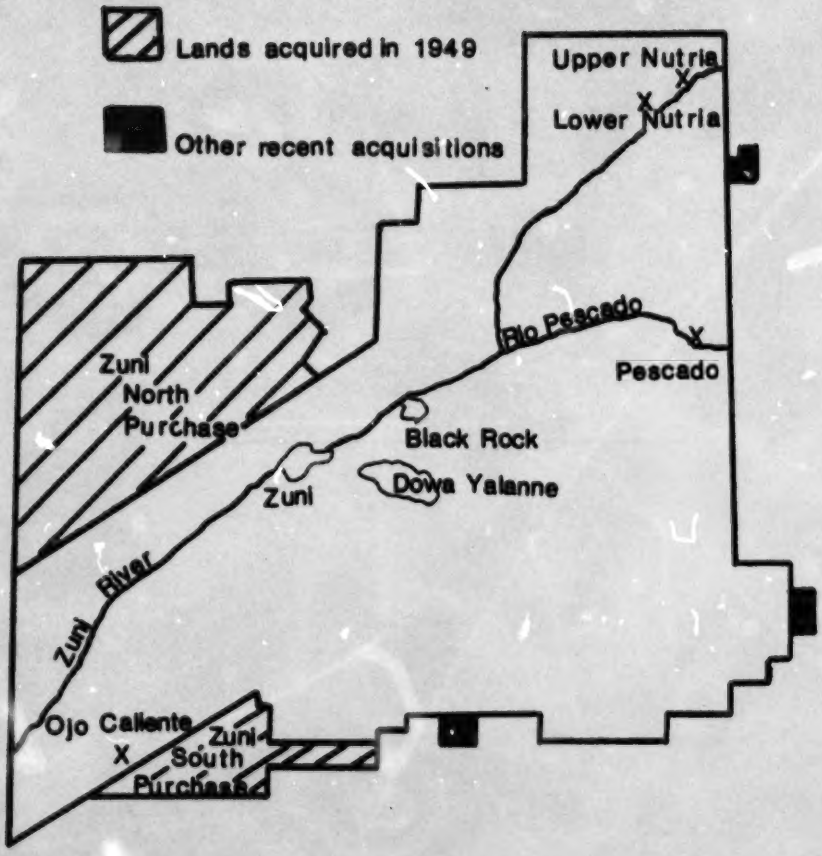
The method of farming was affected by the white population and its government early in the century. For centuries the Zunis had used a complicated system of flood-water farming, in which silt or fine sand was captured and built up in washes through the use of brush dams or "spreaders." The crops were planted in these level areas and when it rained the run-off was just right to water the crops and not flood them out. There were irrigated wheat fields too, which had been described in the 1880's as having been laid out with "wonderful skill." But the whole system of Zuni farming was attacked by the U. S. government as being backward.

Through the years 1904–1907 the first of several dams was built, Black Rock Dam. This large and expensive project provided more water for irrigation to the Pueblo. The dam was sturdy enough, but within a few short years it has almost entirely filled with silt due to the lack of silt control measures on the upper reaches of the tributaries that feed the reservoir. Low land that had been good for some farming is now covered and there is little additional water for irrigation.

Through the years, mainly before 1940, many more dams and reservoirs were constructed on the Zunis' land. There was varying success with the main result being less and less farming. Also infestation of grasshoppers in varying periods between 1930 and the early 1940's contributed to less farming. Now some of the farming villages are almost deserted. Though there is still a lot of stockgrazing on Zuni land there is not much farming. Now even the famous Ƚatdekwi:we or "waffle gardens" have almost disappeared. Ƚatdekwi:we were made especially to utilize all the water in a dry climate.

Another large factor in the twentieth century's changing economy at Zuni came from the traders. More and more people became independent from the community by trading jewelry for their needs. The traders had a good market which would improve even more until in 1945 it accounted for 65 percent of the Pueblo's cash income and today it is a multi-million dollar enterprise. This was good for the people who learned a craft and gained excellence in it. Today perhaps two thousand Zunis are involved in the jewelry industry. The value of the jewelry sent out of the Pueblo may be as high as four or five million dollars, while the cattle and sheep business brings in an average income of only 100 to 150 thousand dollars a year. The Zunis are known internationally for the silver work they do.


Lands added early in the twentieth century
Lands added 1935
Lower Nutria
Upper Nutria
Rio Pescado
Pescado
Black Rock
Zuni
Dowa Yalanne
Zuni River
Ojo Caliente


Lands acquired in 1949
Other recent acquisitions
Upper Nutria
Lower Nutria
Rio Pescado
Pescado
Zuni North Purchase
Black Rock
Dowa Yalanne
Zuni
Zuni River
Ojo Caliente
Zuni South Purchase

For hundreds of years the economy of the Zuni was relatively unchanged. The crops were grown and stored and sometimes traded with people passing by. The Pueblo worked as one unit and survived great hardships. Now, though the Zunis still act and think in terms of pueblo life, the economy is nothing like it was seventy years ago. The tribal leaders today are trying to attract industry to the reservation. The hard-working and reliable nature of the Zuni culture is hopefully bringing the Pueblo into a new era of prosperity.

1900 TO THE PRESENT: TECHNOLOGY

(OR THE CHANGES IN TOOLS AND METHODS OF DOING THINGS.)

Oftentimes, Anglos have mistakenly thought that Indian cultures were simple and backward. Many of the early people to write about the Zuni made this mistake. The kinds of tools used at Zuni often seemed simple, but they were part of an efficient, time-tested system of dealing with the environment. The Pueblo itself was basically one large building, at some points rising four or five stories, quite a feat considering there was only wood, stone and adobe to build with. Early in the twentieth century the Zunis' tools began to be replaced with those of the Anglo culture.

By 1910 the Zuni Pueblo was no longer a many-storied structure. Also in the first decade of the twentieth century the first telephone line was run to the pueblo. In 1913 the first automobile was seen on the reservation. These advances alone show the great change in lifestyle which would come about through the changes in tools and ways of doing things, but the people as a whole were somewhat slower to take to the new machines. It was reported in 1902 that there was only one spoked-wheel vehicle on the reservation, and the old methods of tilling the land were used well into the first decades of the twentieth century. It was not until the mid-1930's that Coleman lamps replaced kerosene lanterns and a modern water supply was installed.

It was not until 1950 that electricity was introduced into the Pueblo and not until 1955 that most families had switched to the use of automobiles. But today there is a modern water supply, electricity, paved roads, telephones, automobiles, and television. The Zuni children are being brought up in an environment not very different from that of the Anglo children in many small towns. They see the same TV programs, listen to the same records and play some of the same games, but their heritage, religion and history are vastly different, and still carried on.

GOVERNMENT

The Zunis' system of government was theocratic, which means that the religious leaders had the final authority to make decisions for the people. Even before the arrival of the Spanish they had a civil government, composed of a cacique representing the different villages, appointed by the highest religious leaders. There were offices similar to those instituted by the Spanish, but of course the leaders' titles would not have been the same.

When the Spanish arrived among the Pueblos they saw a need for a new civil government there, as they didn't understand the workings of the pueblo system. They appointed Indian leaders at each of the Pueblos to help them in the execution of their government. The names of the offices these appointees held are as follows: governor, lieutenant governor, *alcaldes* and *topiles* (or officers of the law), and *fiscales* (or Indians assigned to help the missionaries make sure all the people came to church). This is when the first "parent" attitude was introduced to Indians.

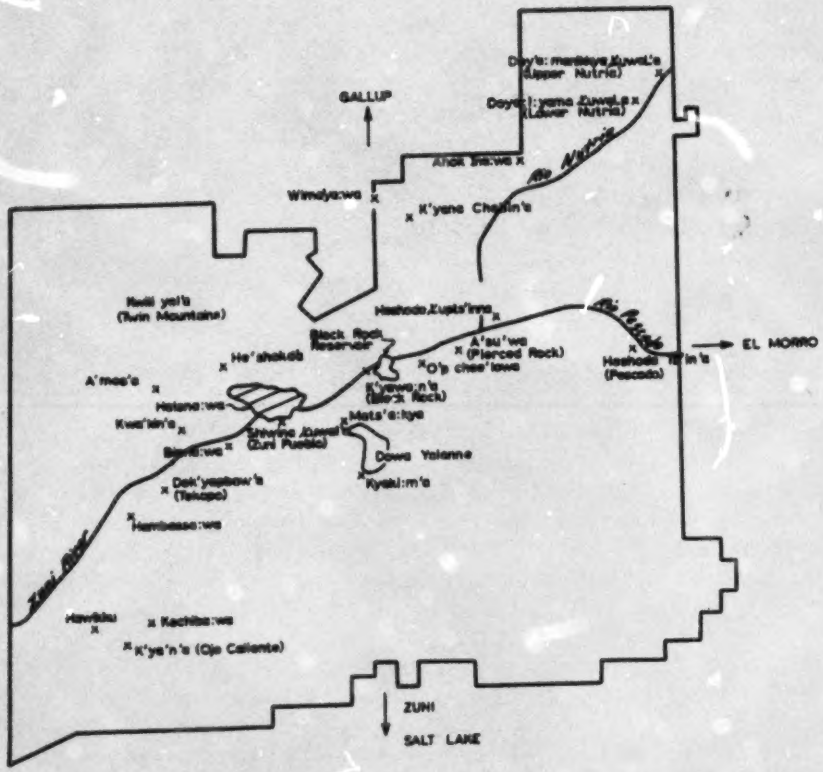
In addition to these officers there was a Spanish civil government consisting of appointees of the king. In the seventeenth century the Franciscan friars and their leaders also had some authority in civil matters in the pueblos. Thus at the end of the seventeenth century Zuni government had its roots in four areas: Spanish civil government, Franciscan friars and their leaders, appointed Indian leaders, and unrecognized Indian leaders.

By 1620, the Spanish civil government had allowed the Zuni government considerable independence. The governor and his assistants were selected by the head priest and his council (high religious leaders were not supposed to involve themselves in secular matters because these dealings detracted from their religious duties). After the Spanish left Zuni because of the threat from raiding Apaches in 1821, the Zunis' civil government came to consist of a governor, a lieutenant governor, and eight tenientes who were all appointed by a council. The council was headed by the K'yakwe Mossi (or Chief Priest of the North), who was assisted by the Bekwinne (or Sun Priest). The council of priests was made up of three members of the A:shiwani and the heads of the other priesthood. The two Bow Priests formed what has been described as the executive arm and the Kiwihtsi: amossi (heads of the Kivas) served as advisors.

The complex culture of the Zunis is not easily defined. With thirteen clans, six Kiva groups, priesthoods, and the medicine societies, the authority and direction of the Pueblo was determined in a complicated way (to outsiders, but well understood by the Zunis), involving many people. The traditions of the Zunis, unlike many other tribes and pueblos, deal with the welfare of the tribe as a whole rather than inner conflicts between clans. Historically this has likely helped the Zuni government to change more easily as situations became different.

In 1934 when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by congress, the Zunis were one of the first tribes to take action. In the two previous

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



decades there had been some disagreement among members of the tribe which resulted in difficulties with the civil government. So the Zunis met in an open meeting and voted to adopt a method of popular elections to choose their government officials.

Today the Zuni system of civil government is different in some ways from what it was four or five hundred years ago. (For instance, no one now occupies the office of the Sun Priest and if there were a Bekwinne he would not likely hold the same authority as he once did.) Today the Zunis hold an open election to choose the governor and his council.

In September of 1970 the Zuni tribe adopted a constitution. The tribe now elects, every four years a governor, a lieutenant governor, and a council consisting of six members.

FOODS USED BY THE ZUNIS IN ANCIENT TIMES

Meat

bear
deer
elk
buffalo
game birds
moose
ground hogs
antelope
rabbits
locusts

Staples

corn
beans
squash
melons
peaches

Roots

wild potato (which was eaten with a type of clay in order to kill the taste)

Greens

wild pea
Rocky Mountain Bee Plant
wild currant
Banana Yucca (young seed pods boiled like string beans and eaten cold)

Fruits

One-seeded Juniper
wild currant
Nightshade (the Zuni boiled the bitter berries, ground them up and mixed them with chile and salt as a relish)
Spanish Bayonet
Cactus fruit
Tomatillo
Coriander (Chinese)

Seeds

Pigweed	Indian Millet
Wormwood	Cocklebur
Goosefoot or Salt Bush	Sunflowers
Lamb's Quarters	pine nut (piñon)
Winged Pigweed	

Fungi

Puffball

Herb Flavoring

Ching-weed (leaves of flowers)	K'yashima mattsa
wild mint	dek'ysha mattsa
water cress	

Chewing Gums

An Aster (dried exudation from root)
Colorado Rubber Plant (skin of root or exuded dried gum)
Chicory (dried juice)
dahlia

Beverage

Wild tea	Kya:naydu
Tickseed	mo:tana

Tobacco

wild tobacco

Foods brought by the Spanish

wheat
fruit trees
coriander seeds